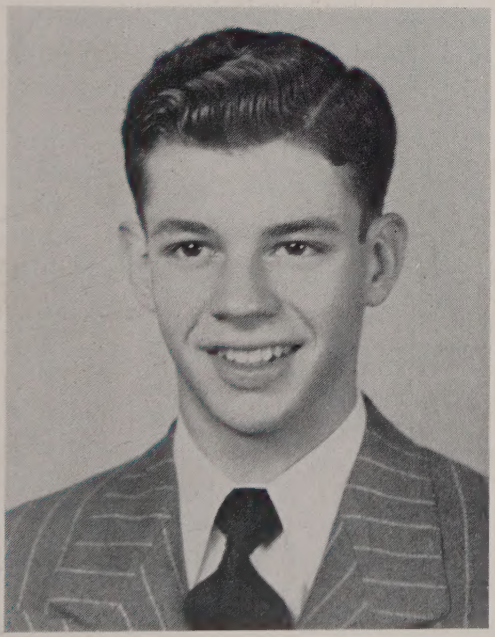
November 1955

Fellowship



WILLIAM HODSDON *Chairman*

30¢

An Interview With Tolstoy

by Louis Biancolli

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FELLOWSHIP

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End

The one clear and comprehensible fact about the age we live in is that war has entirely ceased to be a possible tool of aggrieved or frightened nations.

It is not that "no one can win" in nuclear war, as editorialists are fond of pointing out. No one has been able to win a war, in the sense of profiting from it, for a long time, but that fact has not stopped wars from occurring.

It is not even that the participants in nuclear war might not survive the war, although that is unarguably the case. All the reassuring words that Washington can speak have not obscured the terrifying destructiveness of the H-bomb or the awesome possibilities of radioactive fall-out.

What is even more conclusive than these, however, is the fact that it is literally no longer possible to fight a war, or even to make plans for fighting it. The strategists of neither military nor civil defense can cope with the unimaginable disaster of H-bomb warfare, or with anything that would follow the first dreadful blow.

To mask their confusion they play games. They drop a 40-thousand ton A-bomb in the Nevada desert and announce triumphantly that a house built of reinforced concrete could survive the blast a mile from the explosion, and pretend to

know nothing of the existence of the 40-million ton bombs now in existence.

They put soldiers in a trench a mile from the blast, and report with satisfaction that the men survived, though they have to add that a change in the wind made it impossible for them to leave the trench. They release plans for the building of $1100 reinforced concrete shelters by home-owners on the fringe areas of "probable aiming-points,"[1] or report that a house with a nine-inch thick wood roof would reduce the radioactivity of fall-out by fifty percent,[2] and presumably worry in silence about the fact that nobody has nine-inch thick roofs or is building concrete shelters, and about how the survivors could cope with the remaining radioactivity, or the absence of food and water, or the hordes of wounded and terrified refugees from the "probable aiming-point."

But these are games, and they have only a nodding relationship to reality. The reality is that the opening attacks of full-scale nuclear war, on either side, will mark the end of the war as well. As military strategy expert Bernard Brodie puts it: " . . . the minimum of destruction one can reasonably expect from any *unrestricted* strategic attack will inevitably be too high to permit further meaningful mobilization of resources, perhaps too high even to permit the effective use of surviving military units."[3]

Beginning

The largely uncomprehended fact of our age is that the impossibility of contemplating war will not of itself prevent war from breaking out. As a nation we are still fooling around with tools and techniques that are not merely obsolete but enormously dangerous. We poison the atmosphere with the fall-out from bomb tests, and the minds of our youth with compulsory military servitude. We observe gravely

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1 FCDA press release, Sept. 18, 1955.
2 From a speech by Dr. Willard F. Libby, U.S. Atomic Energy Commission, Sept. 29, 1955.
3 *Harper's Magazine*, October, 1955.

that nuclear war would be mutual suicide, and in the next breath talk of preserving peace by the technique of "mutual terror," as though we had not learned enough to know that humanity cannot live indefinitely under such tension without at last precipitating the very holocaust it fears.

The pacifist role is to bring home to our fellow citizens the logic of their own new knowledge: that only a total about-face is adequate to change our direction from war to peace.

"Defense"

Each month we resolve solemnly not to pass along any more of the particular tidbits that come in from one or another center of "civil defense" thinking, but each month our good resolutions collapse under the impact of new dispatches from those earnest researchers.

Item: The Federal Civil Defense Administration has suggested that families without cellars in their homes can make an effective shelter from fall-out by simply (sic) making the walls and ceiling of the family bathroom reinforced concrete eight inches thick. This suggestion is accompanied by a pen-and-ink drawing of a family (father, mother, two children) cosily camping out in their reinforced concrete bathroom.

Item: With due apologies to the vegetarians among our readers, meat will probably be the safest thing to eat after the bombs drop and the fall-out is deposited. This, according to AEC Commissioner Libby, is because the radioactive elements on the grass will be deposited in the bones of the cattle eating it, rather than in the flesh. (He doesn't say what happens to the cattle, but it may be wise to get them slaughtered and eaten in a hurry.) Milk and cheese will be very dangerous unless chemically decontaminated, and vegetables and fruits only less so.

Item: Ministers invited to join the Chaplain Service of Civil Defense in Nassau County, Long Island, are asked to list all organizations of any kind in which "you now hold

or have held" membership. They are required also to sign a loyalty oath, to submit their fingerprints, and to recognize the fact that "A PERSON SWEARING FALSELY WILL BE SUBJECT TO CRIMINAL PROSECUTION."

Quotes

"There is no doubt that [the United Nations Charter] needs revision, since it gives an exceptional position in world affairs to five nations just because they have great killing power."

—Lord Beveridge

"When all the excuses are heard and all the circumstances weighed, we still murdered in one single flash [at Hiroshima and Nagasaki] tens of thousands of innocent people who were unwarned and unprotected. Can we think that God will not ask us to answer for this? . . . The supreme tragedy of this moment—a decade later—is that we still refuse to strike our breast and acknowledge our sin."

—From an editorial in **The Pilot,**
Official organ of the Archdiocese of Boston

"One of the nicest things you can say about the American people is that they don't take Civil Defense seriously. . . . Two of the group [of pacifists who were arrested for refusing to obey CD orders last June 15] have a long and honorable history of getting arrested for doing what ought to be done but no one else dares to do. In meekly running to cover, the rest of us have only compounded the dishonesty of a Civil Defense program that is neither serious nor safe."

—Editorial in **Harper's Magazine,**
October, 1955

Reminder

More than half the world's population will go to bed hungry tonight, while the United States government pays another $967,000 as the daily cost of storing its huge hoards of surplus food.

WHY DO THE SIRENS BLOW?

by Lyle Tatum

IT IS A healthy sign of the changing times that the parents of young children can face calmly the questions about birth. Our pure white cat, named Whitewash, is once again bulging with a new generation. Steven, age seven, and Susan, age twelve, are watching her closely. She'll be lucky if the latest family arrives in a moment of privacy. There is no embarrassment or lack of knowledge about the arrival or the origin of the kittens, the puppies which will be next, or the other children of animals or men born in a fertile South Jersey community.

Generations of Americans survived the fable of the stork, the psychological and spiritual hazards of inadequate or misleading information, and the discomfort of embarrassment which formerly cloaked our youngsters' questions about sex and birth. These biological questions were basic. Proper handling of them is a serious matter, but, even in the face of total ignorance, built-in controls assure the continuance of the human race. The tough questions my children ask today are of a different nature. Our existence may depend upon answers our society seems to lack the courage or intelligence to find.

Last week the air raid warning sirens blew Wednesday night, Thursday night, and Friday night at eight o'clock. They were going almost continuously for fifteen minutes. Eight o'clock is just when Stevie is going to bed. It is a quiet time at our place, and the sound of the sirens, three-quarters of a mile away, was clearly and ominously present throughout the house.

I've been dodging the embarrassing and unhappy answers to questions asked in the faith of childhood and deserving an honest answer. I remember ducking the

question when Stevie was four. We were standing on a street corner in Philadelphia on a Saturday noon when the weekly siren workout was held. Every small boy is keenly interested in the excitement of sirens. But how could I tell a four-year-old about the possibility of bombs falling from airplanes and of machine-gun bullets spraying city sidewalks? I chatted idly of fire engines and ambulances. But in the long tradition of children keeping parents straight, "Those," he said, "are the sirens that make the airplanes come."

Just Practice?

Now Steven is seven. He has lost one of his front teeth. He wears a butch haircut and is almost the tallest boy in the second grade in Erial, New Jersey. Seven insists on answers to questions. Fire engines and ambulances are for the birds and perhaps the bees. "Why," he wanted to know, "do the sirens blow?"

Wednesday night I was lucky. I wasn't home. Thursday night the pressure was on. Friday night we had to have the whole thing thrashed out.

We are led into these traps gently, of course. He knew that the sirens were just a practice for what might happen some other time. At least, he was certain it was a practice after a word of assurance. He knew about practice for air raids; they had them at school. I suppose everyone takes for granted that learning to seek shelter from dropping bombs is a worthwhile modern addition to the first and second grade curriculum.

Then the questions got tougher. What are armies for? Is there an army in New Jersey? Are they fighting? What does the Navy do? What are submarines used for? Are we going to have a war? Will the bombs drop here?

What could I say about these things to a sensitive youngster? All youngsters are sensitive, and Steven's questions must not be unique. What are you saying?

It wouldn't do any good to launch into a discussion of man's accomplishments in the physical sciences outdistancing his sociological and political progress. I couldn't in good conscience say that war is an impossibility and men only play with sirens. Nor could I with any honesty say that the sirens would do us any good if H-bombs were dropped anywhere in the Delaware Valley, which must be one of the country's main military targets.

Necessity of War

Neither could I explain to a seven-year-old's satisfaction the logical necessity of war with bombs falling indiscriminately on seven-year-olds and soldiers. Steven saw Walt Disney's "The Living Desert" and has been concerned about the animals at the site of the Nevada atomic experiments. My difficulty with those questions precluded any satisfactory answer about bombing children.

I might have taken the "realistic" approach to the siren questions. Perhaps I should have said, "Look, son, this is a rough world. We must learn to live with H-bombs, germ warfare, and flaming gasoline jelly running down people's backs. The sirens and the armies keep it off of our backs and dump it on foreign children, some of whom even have slanted eyes and yellow skin.

Adults will recognize that as the old "take 'em to a whorehouse when eighteen" approach. The difficulty is you need some background for that kind of reality, and we had always thought of foreigners as people.

I did some mental stumbling around with the problems of the psychological adjustment of children to the present state of society. This was complicated by an irrational feeling that perhaps a few children should be raised who would question this state of affairs. Then I gave forth, after the manner of fathers, with a few lame remarks addressed to the questions. I pointed out that war was a possibility but that it could be prevented. I told him, no doubt falsely, that I was doing all I could with the problem of war. I told him that I wasn't going to drop any bombs on children and that I was working with ideas and organizations trying to prevent war. It helped a little. Seven has a lot of faith in father and also has a short attention span.

I am embarrassed and ashamed for myself and my generation for a society that gives birth to such difficult questions. Seven is persistent. I am uneasy. I will be asked again, and yet again, "Why do the sirens blow?"

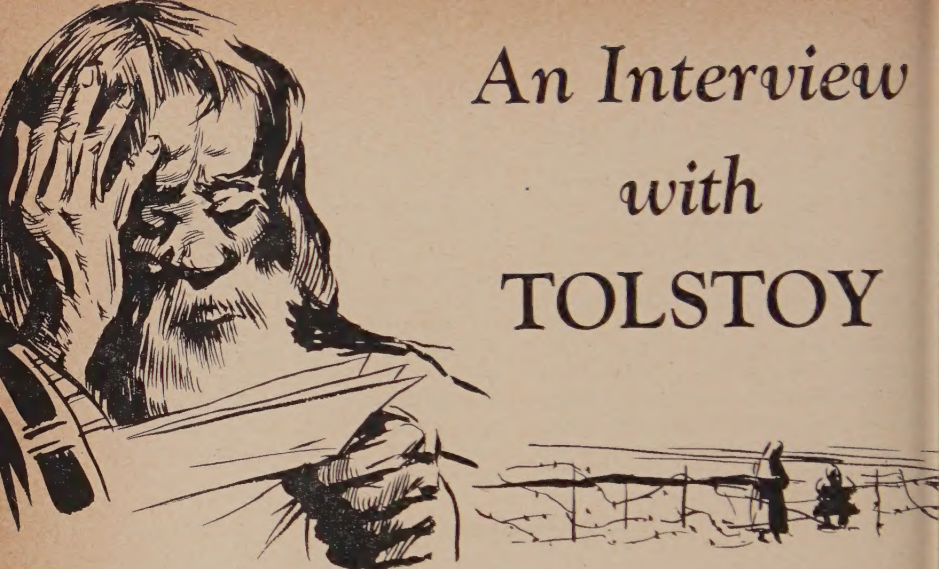
To The Young Women From Hiroshima

by HELEN G. JEFFERSON

How many hours of prayer, how many tears
Did it require before you could forgive?
You have forgiven us, we find it hard
To forgive ourselves. Believe us when we say
We had no knowledge of the hellish thing.
Few who had helped to build the flaming death
Knew what they did. You felt a sense of guilt
On seeing the Arizona's *sunken hulk,*
But what could you have done to stop Pearl Harbor?
Schoolgirls, you shouted "Banzai" at command.

. . . . . .

You had been lessoned in obedience
And did your stint of war work faithfully.
Yet how could children have been enemies?
How could we hate a child? You were so young
To learn so much of hatred, pain, and death.
We thank God only bodies still bear scars
And there is beauty in forgiving eyes.
We join your prayers that all disfigurement
May be removed, that surgeons' hands may give
You outer beauty matching that within.



An Interview with TOLSTOY

By Louis Biancolli

"The question is not what is easy, but what is right . . ."

IN THE early months of 1886 an American traveler and explorer by the name of George Kennan (great-uncle of a former member of the U.S. State Department bearing the same name, and like him a specialist on Russian affairs) visited a penal colony in the vast, bleak wilderness of the Trans-Baikal in eastern Siberia. . . . Kennan talked with some of these exiles, and one of them, a woman, entrusted a manuscript to him. "Promise to give this document to Count Tolstoy to read," she pleaded. Kennan gave his word, and quickly hid away in his luggage what proved to be the "ghastly narrative" of a hunger strike by four women at the Irkutsk prison. . . .

Cut off from the world, these wretched exiles scarcely suspected what this American reformer knew —that Count Tolstoy, having become the world's leading apostle of the doctrine of non-resistance to evil, would not raise a finger to help them. Yet, Kennan as a confirmed believer in the necessity of resisting entrenched wrong, resolved to confront Tolstoy and show him the folly of his doctrine. . . .

Tolstoy the novelist and thinker had become Tolstoy the man of the soil. In a great spiritual upheaval he had come to look upon wealth and leisure as deadly sins. A new reading of the gospels had convinced him that hard work, humility and poverty were the solid bases of a truly Christian life. Thus we now find the author of "War and Peace" and "Anna Karenina"

From The Book of Great Conversations by Louis Biancolli. Copyright, 1948, by Simon and Schuster, Inc.

plowing and hoeing the soil for his impoverished neighbors, distributing his worldly goods, and preaching a life of absolute simplicity. And of all his newly acquired beliefs one dominated Tolstoy's new way of life with an iron rigor—the command of Jesus to refrain from resisting evil. For Tolstoy this had come to mean one thing, pure and simple: whatever the provocation, violence should never be met by violence. Wrongs, brutal and inhuman as they might be, could be redressed only by love. . . .

It was to this uncompromising pacifist that the American reformer George Kennan came on "a bright sunshiny June morning" with a plea for support from a hopeful band of political convicts five thousand miles away. . . .

What is Resistance?

Kennan: Don't you think that resistance to such oppression is justifiable?

Tolstoy: That depends upon what you mean by resistance; if you mean persuasion, argument, protest, I answer yes. If you mean violence—no. I do not believe that violent resistance to evil is ever justifiable under any circumstances. . . . The revolutionists whom you have seen in Siberia undertook to resist evil by violence, and what has been the result? Bitterness and misery and hatred and bloodshed! The evils against which they took up arms still exist and to them has been added a mass of previously non-existent human suffering. It is not in that way that the kingdom of God is to be realized on earth.

Kennan (relating a case of cruelty and brutality which had come to his knowledge in Siberia): Count Tolstoy, if you had been there and had witnessed that transaction, would you have interfered with violence?

Tolstoy: No.

Kennan: Would you kill a highwayman who was about to murder an innocent traveler, provided there was no other way to save the traveler's life?

Tolstoy: If I should see a bear about to kill a peasant in the forest, I should sink an axe in the bear's head. But I would not kill a man who was about to do the same thing.

Kennan: Count Tolstoy, three or four years ago there was arrested in one of the provinces of European Russia a young, sensitive, cultivated woman named Olga Liubatovitch. I will not relate her whole history. It is enough to say that, inspired by ideas which, even if mistaken, were at least unselfish and heroic, she, with hundreds of other young people of both sexes, undertook to overturn the existing system of government. She was arrested, thrown into prison, and after being kept for a year in solitary confinement she was exiled to Siberia by administrative process. You perhaps know—or if you do not know, I can tell you—what hardships and sufferings and humiliations a young girl must undergo who is sent to Siberia alone with a common criminal party. . . .

In this abnormal mental and emotional condition Olga Liubatovitch reached the town of Krasnoyarsk in Eastern Siberia. She had up to this time been permitted to wear her own dress and her own underclothing; but at Krasnoyarsk the local governor directed that she should put on the dress of a common convict. She refused

to do so . . . as convicts are not always supplied with new clothing, and are sometimes compelled to put on garments which have already been worn by others and which are foul and full of vermin, it is not difficult to suggest a number of good reasons for objecting to such a change. The chief of police and the officer of the convoy were finally directed to use force. . . . She resisted, and there followed a horrible scene of violence and unavailing self-defense. . . . Suppose that all this had occurred in your presence; suppose that this bleeding, defenseless, half-naked girl had appealed to you for protection and had thrown herself into your arms; suppose that it had been your daughter—would you still have refused to interfere by an act of violence?

Tolstoy (silent for a few moments; his eyes filled with tears): Do you know absolutely that that thing was done?

Violence Never Justified

Kennan: No, because I did not see it done. But I have it from two eye witnesses, one of them a lady in whose statements I put implicit trust, and the other an officer of the exile administration. They saw it and they told me.

Tolstoy (after some silence): Even under such circumstances violence would not be justifiable. Let us analyze that situation carefully. I will grant, for the sake of argument, that the local governor who ordered the act of violence was an ignorant man, a cruel man, a brutal man—what you will; but he probably had an idea that he was doing his duty; he probably believed that he was enforcing a law of the government to which he owed obedience and service. You suddenly appear and set yourself up as a judge in the case; you assume that he is not doing his duty—that he is committing an act of unjustifiable violence—and then, with strange inconsistency, you proceed to aggravate and complicate the evil by yourself committing another act of unjustifiable violence. One wrong added to another wrong does not make a right; it merely extends the area of wrong. Furthermore, your resistance, in order to be effective, in order to accomplish anything, must be directed against the soldiers who are committing the assault.

Soldiers Not Free

But those soldiers are not free agents; they are subject to military discipline and are acting under orders which they dare not disobey. To prevent the execution of the orders you must kill or maim two or three of the soldiers; you may or may not thus succeed in preventing the completion of the act against which your violence is a protest; but one thing you certainly will do, and that is, extend the area of enmity, injustice, and misery. Every one of the soldiers whom you kill or maim has a family, and upon every such family you bring grief and suffering which would not have come to it but for your act. In the hearts of perhaps a score of people you rouse the anti-Christian and anti-social emotions of hatred and revenge and thus sow broadcast the seeds of further violence and strife. At the time you interposed there was only one center of evil and suffering. By your violent interference you have created half a dozen such

centers. It does not seem to me, Mr. Kennan, that that is the way to bring about the reign of peace and good-will on earth.

(The conversation is interrupted by a summons to lunch, which is served in a large, cheerful, sunny room of the upper floor. Kennan and Tolstoy then return to the little reception room on the first floor.

(Kennan again raises the question of the treatment of the political convicts in Siberia. As an illustration he hands Tolstoy the manuscript of a detailed account of the voluntary self-starvation of four political convicts, all educated women, in the prison at Irkutsk.)

A Mistaken Action

Tolstoy (reading a few pages with a gradually clouding face, then returning the manuscript to Kennan): I have no doubt that the courage and fortitude of these people are heroic. But their methods are irrational and I cannot sympathize with them. They resorted to violence, knowing that they rendered themselves liable to violence in return, and they are suffering the natural consequences of their mistaken action. I cannot imagine any darker conception of hell than the state of those unfortunate people in Siberia, whose hearts are full of bitterness and hatred, and who, at the same time, are absolutely powerless even to return evil for evil. (Pauses.) If they had only changed their views a little . . . if they had adopted the course which seems to me the only right one to pursue in dealing with evil, what might not such people have done for Russia! Mine is the true revolutionary method. If the people of the empire refuse, as I believe they should refuse, to render military service, if they decline to pay taxes to support that instrument of violence, an army, the present system of government cannot stand. The proper way to resist evil is to refuse absolutely to do evil either for one's self or for others.

Kennan: But the Government forces its people to render military service and pay taxes! They *must* serve and pay or go to prison!

Can't Imprison All

Tolstoy: Then let them go to prison! The Government cannot put the whole population in prison, and if it could it would still be without material for an army and without money for its support.

Kennan: But you cannot get the whole people to act simultaneously in this way. If you were let alone, you could perhaps convert a few hundred thousand peasants to your views; but do you think that you would be let alone? As soon as your teaching began to be dangerous to the stability of the state it would be suppressed. Suppose, for the sake of argument, that you succeeded in converting a quarter of the population; the Government would draw soldiers enough from the other quarters to put that one quarter in prison or in Siberia, and there would be an end of your propaganda and your revolution. It seems to me that the first thing to be done is to obtain freedom of action—peaceably if possible, forcibly if necessary. You cannot persuade, or teach, or show people how they ought to live, if some other man holds you by the throat and chokes you every time you open your mouth or raise your

hand. How are you ever going to get your propaganda under way?

Tolstoy: But do you not see that if you claim and exercise the right to resist an act of violence that you regard as evil, every other man will insist upon his right to resist in the same way what he regards as evil, and the world will continue to be filled with violence? It is your duty to show that there is a better way.

Kennan: But you cannot show anything if somebody smites you on the mouth every time you open it to speak the truth.

Retaliation Barbarous

Tolstoy: You can at least refrain from striking back. You can show by your peaceable behavior that you are not governed by the barbarous law of retaliation, and your adversary will not continue to strike a man who neither resists nor tries to defend himself. It is by those who have suffered, not by those who have inflicted suffering, that the world has advanced.

Kennan: It seems to me that the advancement of the world has been promoted not a little by the protests—and often the violent and bloody protests—of its inhabitants against wrong and outrage, and that all history goes to show that a people which tamely submits to oppression never acquires either liberty or happiness.

Tolstoy: The whole history of the world is a history of violence, and you can of course cite violence in support of violence; but do you not see that there is in human society an endless variety of opinions as to what constitutes wrong and oppression, and that if you once concede the right of any man to resort to violence to resist what he regards as wrong, he being the judge, you authorize every other man to enforce his opinions in the same way, and you have a universal reign of violence?

Kennan: If, on the other hand, oppression is advantageous to the oppressor, and if he finds that he can oppress with impunity and that nobody resists, when is he likely to stop oppressing? It seems to me that the peaceable submission to injustice which you advocate would simply divide society into two classes: tyrants, who find tyranny profitable, and who therefore will continue it indefinitely, and slaves, who regard resistance as wrong, and who will therefore submit indefinitely.

(Count Tolstoy proposes a walk, and Kennan assents. A short distance from the house they meet the Count's eldest daughter, dressed as a peasant girl; she is on her way home from the fields, where she had been raking hay with the village girls of Yasnaya Polyana. . . .)

Must Set Example

Tolstoy: I believe that it is everyone's duty to labor for others who need assistance, and to work at least a part of every day with his hands. It is better to labor for and with the poor in their particular employment than it is to work in your own higher and possibly more remunerative intellectual field and then give the poor the results of your labor. In the one case you not only help the people who need help, but you set the poor and the idle an example; you show them that you do not regard even their prosaic toil as beneath your dignity, and you thus

teach them self-respect, industry, and contentment with their lot.

Alms to Beggars

If, on the the other hand, you work exclusively in your own higher intellectual field and give the poor the results of your labor, as you would give alms to a beggar, you encourage idleness and dependence; you establish a social class distinction between yourself and the recipient of your alms; you break down his self-respect and self-reliance, and you inspire him with a longing to escape from the hard conditions of his own life of daily physical toil, and to share your life, which he things is easier than his; to wear your clothes, which seem to him better than his, and to gain admission to your social class, which he regards as higher than his.

That is not the way to help the poor or to promote the brotherhood of man.

Kennan: If I admit that it is man's highest duty to do good to others, and that he owns only a secondary duty to himself and to his family, I cannot dispute the soundness of your reasoning. If I accept your premises I leave myself no ground to stand on in an argument; but, waiving that point, the characteristic of your scheme that strikes me most forcibly is its utter impracticability. Given the present organization of society and the existing traits of human character, it seems to me that a man who practices non-resistance, and who devotes his life to the good of others, simply sacrifices himself and his family without any commensurate gain to the world, because nobody else acts upon the same principles.

Tolstoy: You say that if you admit my premises you leave yourself no ground to stand on in an argument; but why should you not admit my premises? You *must* admit my premises. If every man should do good to every other man instead of evil, the condition of things would be better than it is now, would it not?

Need A Beginning

The state of society in which every man shall do good instead of evil is a thing to be hoped for and worked for, is it not? Then why do you say that I am impracticable when I hope and work for the realization of a social state which you yourself admit is desirable? If we are ever to reach that desirable social state, somebody must make a beginning, must he not? Somebody must take a step in that direction and show that it is possible to live so.

What if the present organization of society and the existing traits of human character do make such a step difficult—that has no bearing on my personal duty.

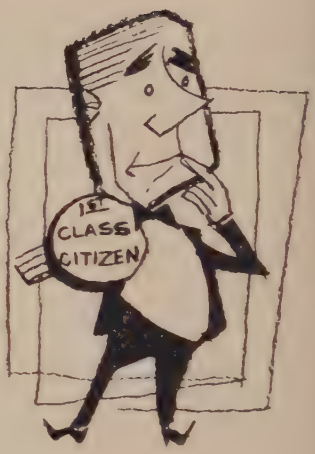
The question is not what is easy, but what is right. There is nothing sacred or necessarily immutable about the present organization of society and the existing traits of human character. They are the results of man's activity, and by man's activity they can be changed. I believe that they ought to be changed, and I am doing what I can to change them.

LISTEN to **Martin Niemoller** on the Living Faith Program on NBC Radio Sunday morning, December 4. Consult your local stations for exact time. . . .

"I'm Glad I'm White, But . . ."

I can go into any kind of store. . . . My wife can try on a dress in any dress shop in the country. . . . My children could attend any private school or college in the country. . . . They may apply for any job in the country. . . . A Negro could not do that.

by Robbins Ralph



I'M GLAD I was born white, since this is a white man's world. There are lots of reasons. I can go into any kind of a store and be fitted for a suit. My wife can try on a dress in any dress shop in any city in the country. We can board a bus or train or boat, if we can pay for the ticket, and we can occupy any seat that is available, and no questions asked.

I'm glad I am a white man. I can go to any theatre, and choose my own seat. If I were a Negro, I could not do that. I enjoy baseball, and when I go to Al Lang Field, all I have to have is one dollar and I can enter the main gate and go anywhere I choose in the great shaded grandstand. The Negroes have to sit on bleachers out in the sun. I'm glad I'm a white man.

I'm glad my children have the privileges and advantages of freedom. The public schools that have been open to them are fine schools. They could attend any private school or college in the country to which I could afford to send them and for which they are intellectually qualified. They may choose their own careers. They may apply for any job in the country, and the only requirement is that they have the ability to perform the work. And that they be white. I'm glad my children are white, since this is a white man's world.

One of my sons turned out to have a good deal of musical ability. He specialized in the clarinet. He played with the High School orchestra, then joined the St. Petersburg Symphony orchestra and worked up to first clarinet. When the road show "South Pacific" came to St. Petersburg for a week, they needed a clarinetist and he played

with their orchestra and earned as much in a week as I earned in a week as a minister. We were proud of him. And glad he was white. If he had been a Negro, he could have played in the Negro High School band—and that is good—but not in the city's symphony orchestra or in "South Pacific."

I'm glad our family is white, since this is a white man's world.

And yet I'm not altogether glad that I'm a white man. There is something on my mind. Since this is a white man's world, I rather naturally get the impression that I'm a better man than the Negro. More intelligent, more cultured.

Take the matter of money, for example. I know how to use money fairly wisely. I don't spend it as fast as I get it, and then go on relief when it is gone. I don't own a television set because I can't afford it. I don't drive a Cadillac because, for my money, there are other values in life more important. But the Negroes who live in tumble-down shacks have forests of TV towers over their quarters. They love to drive flashy and powerful cars. Their cultural scale is obviously lower than mine. Or so I am tempted to think.

What's On My Mind

And yet, something bothers me. It just happens that I like to live in an adequate and modern house, set on a spacious, land-scaped lot, in a pleasant neighborhood. How do I know what I would do if this privilege were denied me? How do I know what I would do if I had to live in the narrow confines of a crowded slum? If it were impossible for me to go out and buy, or build, or rent the kind of a house I like? If I could not go to the better churches, could not spend my money at the better theatres, could not play golf at the country club? I imagine I'd get a television set as soon as I could manage the down payment. Would I be able to keep up the payments? I don't know. If a white man and I work together in a certain place and the employer has to let one of us go, I'll be the one laid off. I can't be sure of the future anyway. I might as well enjoy TV while I can. And if they have to take the set back to the store, so what?

And as for the Cadillac, this is a white man's world. And in the white man's world, a Cadillac is a symbol of success, achievement, of power and prestige. Since I happen to be a white man, there are also other ways in which I can satisfy the urge to be somebody; other ways in which I can prove myself successful. I don't need a Cadillac. But if these other avenues were closed to me; if I could not have a good house to live in; if I could not hob-nob with the best people; if I

The Rev. Robbins Ralph, long-time FOR member, is now Associate Superintendent and Minister of Church Extension for the Florida Congregational Christian Conference. This sermon, notable for a southern congregation, was preached at Mr. Ralph's former pastorate, the Church-by-the-Sea, Madeira Beach, Florida, and subsequently reprinted in the *St. Petersburg Times*.

could walk through the hotel dining room as a waiter but not as a diner; if I could go out on the Municipal pier with a broom to sweep the floor but not with a pole to catch the fish; if my wife could go into the homes of the rich and elegant to serve tea but not to take tea—you know, I think a Cadillac might be tempting.

No, I'm not altogether happy about being a white man in a white man's world. This world gives me the impression that I'm a better man. But the horrible and disturbing thought is that I may be wrong!

Stacked Deck

The cards are stacked in my favor. The comparison is not fair. Maybe I'm an inferior person, and don't know it.

And I'm not entirely happy about my children being white. I suppose, like any fond father, I thought my boy was the best clarinetist his age in town. But how do I know? There were hundreds of youngsters who never had a chance to show. Maybe I'm unconsciously afraid that I'm not a better man. Maybe I'm afraid a black boy might beat him out. Is that why I'm glad he's white? May God have mercy on me.

We went to see "South Pacific," even though the price was steep. It was worth the price of admission just to hear one certain song in that play.

A song that goes like this:

"You've got to be taught to hate and fear,
You've got to be taught from year to year,
It's got to be drummed in your dear little ear—
You've got to be carefully taught.

"You've got to be taught to be afraid
Of people whose eyes are queerly made,
Of people whose skin is a different shade,
You've got to be carefully taught.

"You've got to be taught before it's too late,
Before you are six or seven or eight,
To hate the people your relatives hate;
You've got to be carefully taught."[1]

We white people have been taught, carefully taught, by the culture in which we live, that we are the superior race. It has been drummed into our dear little ear until we believe it. The only trouble is, it just possibly isn't so.

No, I'm not entirely happy about being a white man in a white man's world. There is something gnawing on my conscience. It is on my conscience that I and my sort are depressing my brother and his children. His children can't go where mine can. His children can't do the things my children can do. There are doors that close. When we elevate ourselves by stepping on the colored race, by the same act we send the colored race down. When we deceive ourselves into the notion of innate and God-given superiority, by the same token we sometimes force upon the Negro a sense of inferiority which dooms him to live way below his best. If he is sensitive (and he is human), something gets crushed. Why fight against a stone wall? Why push in where you obviously are not wanted? You can always go back to

[1] From "South Pacific," Richard Rodgers and Oscar Hammerstein, II. Copyright—Williamson Music, Inc.

shanty-town, the television, the Cadillac. For excitement and adventure you can always turn to moonshine liquor and the bolita game.

And I am the white man who sends him there. I am not altogether happy about myself. My conscience is bothering me. May God have mercy on my soul.

No Aristocracy Here

I love this church, and the people in it. I love them very greatly. Could I come to church some Sunday morning with a Negro friend and could we worship quietly together? I don't know. We had better be doing some thinking and some praying about these things.

Last Monday was Independence Day, the 179th anniversary of the American Declaration of Independence. We look with pride on the struggle carried on by our spiritual ancestors in the founding of a nation freed not only from foreign domination but freed from a caste-ridden nobility, freed from the overlordship of an aristocracy born above the common man. We need to be reminded that less than two centuries ago, in most of the world, 90 percent of the people, regardless of race, were thought to be unworthy to be educated, unworthy to vote. People like you and me, children like yours and mine, were not good enough to go to school, at least with the silk-clad children of the aristocrats. It was folly to think of educating common people like us. What was the point of it? What did we know about the finer things of life?? Your ancestors and mine were born for the heavy work, the dirty work, the servile work. We had no business aspiring to greatness or achievement in art or science or music or business or politics. It would only spoil our usefulness to let such notions get into our heads.

But we repudiated that kind of thinking in this country. This was to be not a rich man's country, not the aristocrats' country, but the common man's country. The revolution is not yet finished. The struggle for freedom, for justice, for equality of opportunity is not yet won.

I have been speaking to us all as common men, enjoying the heritage won for us by the founders of our republic. Now let me speak to the women who are here, reminding them of another phase of the struggle for freedom of which they are the beneficiaries.

Status of Women

As recently as a century ago, and less, women were in a state of subjection which would seem intolerable today. Less than one hundred years ago the great preacher, Horace Bushnell, wrote a book entitled, "Woman Suffrage, the Reform against Nature." He pictured the dire consequences of giving women the vote in these words: "The look will be sharp, the voice will be wiry and shrill, the action will be angular and abrupt; wiliness, self-assertive boldness, eagerness for place and power will get into the expression more and more distinctly, and become inbred in the native habit."

In 1852 the *New York Herald* ran an editorial which contained these words: "How did woman first become subject to man, as she now is all over the world? By her nature, her sex, just as the Negro is and

always will be to the end of time, inferior to the white race, and, therefore, doomed to subjection; but she is happier than she would be in any other condition, just because it is the law of her nature."

It was not until about 1920 that our Constitution was amended giving women the privilege of the ballot. That phase of the struggle for freedom has been mainly won in this country. It is no longer just a man's country, but a country for people, for God's children, male or female.

At present, it is still a white man's country, the American Negro today being where all our ancestors were two hundred years ago, where all women were one hundred years ago. We do not well to boast of freedom until the last battle has been fought and won.

I happen to be white. I want to be a Christian. The white man part of me is satisfied the way things are. The Christian part of me is restless and unhappy and guilty and ashamed. The Christian part of me will not be at peace until this is not a white man's country, nor a black man's country, but God's country. For all men are His children.

I beg your pardon if I have spoken in such a way as to disturb your thinking. I beg God's pardon if I have not.

The Good Shepherd

The Christian way of dealing with evil is quite unsentimental. It takes no notice of what the wrong-doer deserves, but concentrates on what he needs. Its main interest, however, is the welfare of the whole community which it refuses to sacrifice to primitive instincts. It treats the wrong that has been done as a failure in fellowship, and therefore prescribes swift and positive action to restore fellowship.

With decisive insight the Christian gospel observes that all wrong-doing is a deficiency in love . . . and therefore its remedy is effective and convincing demonstrations of love. . . . The good shepherd goes after his lost sheep not to show what a good-hearted fellow he is, not because he has a sentimental regard for the troublesome beast, and least of all because he approves of the sheep's action in going astray, but for the very practical reason that search and recovery are the only way to avoid loss.

Reconciliation, October 1954

. . . And The Second is Like Unto It . . .

by F. Wilhelm Kaufmann

Jesus said unto him, Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all Thy heart, and with all thy soul, and with all thy mind.

This is the first and great commandment.

And the second is like unto it, Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself.

On these two commandments hang all the law and the prophets.[1]

JUDGING from my own knowledge and experience, the name of God is never more invoked than in times of war or approaching war. In the Middle Ages the Crusaders went to the Orient where they massacred the Mohammedans in the name of God, and were killed in the name of Allah. During he First World War both parties were officially assured that God was on their side and would grant them victory. The Germans fought for God and fatherland, and the French had the satisfaction of having their patron saint, Joan of Arc, canonized soon after a war in which millions lost their lives.

If we believe the shapers of public opinion the world is divided into God-fearing nations on one side of the Iron Curtain, and the godless peoples on the other side. The reasons why we are supposed to be more God-fearing than others are never quite clearly defined. Are they economic, political, moral, or a mixture of them?

According to the Gospel of St. Matthew, chapter 22, however, there

1 The Gospel of St. Matthew 22:37-40.

is a criterion by which a God-fearing nation can be distinguished from a godless people. Its clue is the phrase, "And the second is like unto it."

Here Jesus explicitly places the religious and moral commandments on the same level, completely replacing the three religious and seven moral commandments of the Mosaic decalogue and eliminating the negative form in which most of the old commandments appear. No longer is it "thou shalt not do this," but "love thy God" and "love thy neighbor." They are of equal importance, each incomplete without the other. He who loves God must love his fellow-men—all fellowmen without exception. He who does not love his fellow-men cannot possibly love God.

This appeal, one may say, is to man's conscience, his reason and sympathy. Man must decide for himself and on his own responsibility how these two imperatives are to be implemented in each specific situation.

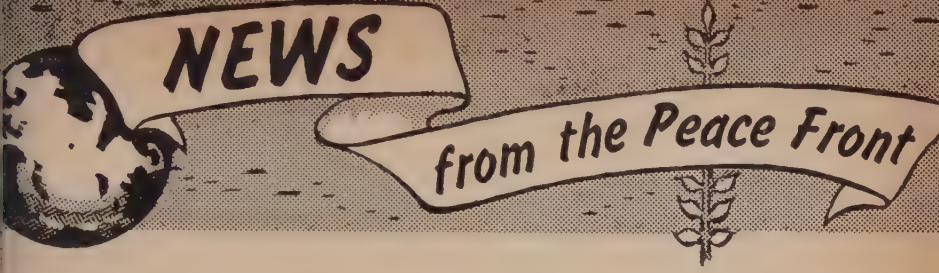
If, however, the idea of God is to have any philosophical or religious meaning at all, does not one think that God cannot be conceived as some supernatural Being residing somewhere in the still undiscovered spaces of the universe? Rather he must be that incomprehensible principle in which all things and all living beings are essentially one, and in which all antagonisms and all antinomies find their resolution. Therefore there is only one way in which this all-embracing principle can be worshipped and loved—*by giving that transcendent oneness its greatest possible actuality among men.*

This means extending one's love not only to those who share our race and color, our economic, political and religious beliefs, but also to all those who differ from us in all these respects—and to them even more than to our companions and friends for they are isolated from us.

If we limit our love of fellowmen to those whose political and economic ideas coincide with ours we should logically disavow all monotheism and adopt the Persian and Manichaean dualism of radical Good and radical Evil as two irreducible and antagonistic forces. Or we should honestly admit that religion in general and Judaeo-Christianity in particular have ceased to have any meaning for us. Then we may with good conscience fulfill our nihilistic duty of exterminating the "godless" part of mankind and be exterminated by them. There is little sense in the belief of a transcendent Being if we are incapable and unwilling to transcend the limited circle of our immediate interests. Such belief is a dead concept no more than a palliative for fear of death, or an anesthetic.

That transcendence whose meaning depends upon active love of all fellowmen is the only manifestation of authentic freedom. He who gives and loves without considering what he is going to receive in return—he alone is free from fear, hatred, greed—from all those obsessions which torture our contemporary world. True religion demands that man justify his belief in God by a constant endeavour to make the ethical second like unto the religious first commandment.

He who gave equal rank to the two commandments of love and demanded their universal application—he was crucified. He lived his love without compromise.



Pentagon Gives In; Drops ROTC Loyalty Oath

A rider to the Department of Defense Appropriations bill passed in the summer of 1954 required a "certificate of loyalty or loyalty oath" of all students entering ROTC. The oath included an affirmation that the boy had never belonged to, or attended a meeting of, or distributed any literature published by any organization on the Attorney General's list.

At the University of Wisconsin, a student who was required to take ROTC conscientiously reported to military authorities that he had had a past association with one of the organizations on the list. Under the rule of the Defense Department, any student honest enough to list such a past association was to march with his unit, but without uniform, from that moment until a security check was completed in Washington. Although this might take six months to a year, the public humiliation was to continue throughout the school year.

The incident resulted in action by the Wisconsin American Civil Liberties Union, the University administration, and by a number of faculty members. At Cornell University there was similar concern about the new oath. The Cornell Student Council adopted the following resolution with only one dissenting vote:

"Be it resolved that the Student Council recommend to the University Faculty that the basic ROTC program at Cornell be placed on a voluntary basis."

In the spring of 1955 by a unanimous vote the Student Council affirmed its preference for a voluntary ROTC and on April 21, 1955, in a student referendum, 2790 students voted for a voluntary system while 1084 voted for a compulsory one.

Partly because of pressure from educational and other groups and partly because the Pentagon feared some compulsory ROTC colleges might shift to a voluntary system, the Defense Department abandoned the objectionable oath and substituted a simpler one "to support and defend the Constitution of the United States against all enemies foreign or domestic. . . ."

The Pentagon added: "Any student who refuses to execute such loyalty oath shall be denied formal enrollment" in the basic ROTC program. However, formal enrollment is denied if the school requires compulsory training the student may receive it "with the approval of the military department concerned."

A Student Council officer at Cornell said that with this change of Pentagon heart, the chances of ending compulsory ROTC at Cornell are less likely. The faculty favors continuing compulsion.

So the Pentagon maintained its position on the compulsion front.

C D Trial Raises Important Issues

The trial of twenty-five pacifists who refused to take shelter during last June's "civil defense drill," slated at this writing to take place in New York City Magistrate's Court October 26, is attracting wide interest and support for the important issues it will raise.

These involve basically the question of whether the government has the power to suspend Constitutional rights of citizens during a "simulated" emergency, but include also what promises to be a penetrating examination of the whole assumption of civil defense. The pacifists claim, among other things, that there is no such thing as defense in nuclear war, and hope to produce the testimony of top-ranking scientists and other experts in an attempt to demonstrate it.

Twenty-nine persons originally were arrested as a result of the "sit-down" in City Hall Park during the time when all citizens has been ordered to take shelter. One of these, a peddler, was dismissed that same evening when his arrest was described as a case of mistaken identity. Three more individuals subsequently were separated from the main body for trial purposes, and the case against one of these dismissed.

The remaining twenty-five, free in $1500 bail each, appeared September 28 before Magistrate Hyman Bushel to hear his opinion on their contention that he was not entitled to hear the case but should refer it to a higher court. When Magistrate Bushel rejected this motion and set a trial date for October 26, attorney Kenneth Greenawalt, representing most of the defendants, reserved decision on whether or not to appeal the ruling until further consultation.

At the same hearing seven of the defendants, representing the *Catholic Worker*, entered pleas of "guilty," with the explanation that they were unwilling to use court methods to test what seemed to them fundamentally a moral and spiritual issue. Judge Bushel, treading gingerly in a case that could conceivably go to the United States Supreme Court, first attempted to dissuade the group from pleading at all, and then refused to sentence them until the whole trial itself ended, explaining that he would not help to make "martyrs" of them. Dorothy Day and Ammon Hennacy of the C.W. group are, nevertheless, continuing active support of the Defense Committee.

Strong Support

The resisters have attracted strong and articulate support from outstanding newspapers and magazines, with particularly notable editorials in recent issues of both *Commonweal* and *Harper's*. The American Friends Service Committee, recently the recipient of a grant of $150,000 from the Fund for the Republic for legal defense of the rights of conscience has made a contribution to the defense and has made available as consultant, Harrop Freeman, noted Constitutional authority and professor of law at Cornell University.

The October 3 meeting of the FOR national Executive Committee, noting that the April meeting of the National Council had encouraged members of the Fellowship to testify against the June 15 drill in all possible ways, reaffirmed its support of the individuals involved

in the case. Twelve of the defendants are FOR members, including national secretary emeritus A. J. Muste and New York regional secretary, Kent Larrabee. A. J. is treasurer of the Defense Committee, which has its headquarters at Room 825, 5 Beekman Street, New York City.

Field Worker for Great Lakes

Closing of the Great Lakes regional office at Cleveland, currently operating with only a half-time office secretary, and employment of a full-time field worker for that area, were approved by the national Executive Committee of FOR at its meeting in New York October 3. The new arrangement had been proposed by the Great Lakes regional council when it became apparent that budget considerations would not permit operation of a full-scale regional office.

Other actions of the Committee included:

¶Discussion of the qualifications of an applicant for the post of New England regional secretary. Final decision was referred to the national personnel committee and the New England regional council for joint action.

¶Approval of a staff proposal that Robert Cannon, field secretary in the Nashville area, extend his work to include St. Louis and vicinity after consultation with Nashville and St. Louis local groups.

¶Approval of a staff proposal to hold three national conferences during the summer of 1956, on the Pacific Coast, in the Midwest, and in the East. Each conference will have a specific emphasis, tentatively defined as (a) pacifism and the social order (economics, community organization, etc.); (b) pacifism and the individual personality (civil liberties, prison reform, etc.); and (c) the philosophy of pacifism in the present context. Each conference tentatively will be preceded by both a family camp and a youth conference, with details referred to a special committee and the staff.

Three resolutions referred to the Executive Committee by the National Conference plenary session were discussed, and the following action taken:

(a) The Committee expressed sympathetic interest in the FOR individuals and groups in Michigan who have sponsored or endorsed the proposal for a *world peace month,* but voted not to give the project national endorsement. The proposal was felt to lack specific content sufficient to justify the very large investment of staff time and money that would be needed to implement it.

(b) Action toward *"changing U.S. policy in regard to the rearmament of Germany"* was referred to the National Council, with A. J. Muste asked to prepare a draft resolution reaffirming the FOR position in this area.

(c) The proposal that FOR place more emphasis on *opposition to capital punishment* was endorsed. The executive committee of the Philadelphia FOR was asked to prepare a statement of FOR policy on capital punishment, and the national Literature Department was authorized to prepare and publish a pamphlet on the subject.

The meeting, presided over by national chairman Charles Lawrence, was attended by twelve committee members, five staff members, and two visitors.

Niemoeller to Make FOR Film

Pastor Martin Niemoeller, former U-boat commander, leader of the church resistance to Hitler, and one of the world's best-known pacifists, will make a 14-minute motion-picture film for the American FOR during his visit in this country this month.

The picture will be made on 16-mm. sound film and will be available for purchase or rental after the first of the year. It is being produced jointly by the national Publications Department and the Paine Foundation.

East Germany Wooing Pacifist Youth Says WP

According to Berlin Worldover Press correspondent, Henry Holm, the Grotewohl regime in East Germany took two decisive steps to woo the large number of West German pacifist youth into the East camp: promise of the right of asylum and full citizenship with the guarded indication that "there was no intention of introducing conscription in East Germany."

Holm's report in the September 9 *Worldover Press* contended that this action immediately followed Bonn's announcement that conscription in West Germany was imminent. Furthermore, the move catered to the widespread feeling throughout Germany that the planned West German army would be of little use since "fifty atomic bombs would render the country uninhabitable," said Holm.

Holm cited four reasons for the Grotewohl manuever: need of manpower for East German industries; the realization among the Soviet Union and her satellites that war by means of mass armies is obsolete; the realism of the Communists (why force unwilling and unreliable Germans into an East German army whose main usefulness is to preserve internal "order"?); the fact that absence of conscription is powerful propaganda.

FOR-AFSC Cosponsor Hiroshima Service

A Nobel prize-winning scientist and the editor of the *Society for Social Responsibility in Science Newsletter*, shared the platform with Professor Rexford C. Tugwell of the University of Chicago at a Hiroshima Memorial Service cosponsored August 6 by the American Friends Service Committee and the Chicago FOR.

The service was held directly in front of the plaque at the old Chicago squash courts which marked the first man-made self-sustaining nuclear chain reaction.

Calling for a world "change of heart," Truman Kirkpatrick of the *Newsletter* said, "Peace needs building. The fund of opinion must grow. In any country, and especially in a democracy, this means that many individuals must take a personal responsibility for helping to change the public attitude."

Nobel prize-winner Harold Urey emphasized that world government was the only sure way to prevent recurrence of a tragedy like Hiroshima. Professor Tugwell, comparing Hiroshima with the place of the memorial service said, "It is not often that there is so direct a connection as exists in this instance between victory and defeat—victory for the intelligence, defeat for the conscience."

William Hodsdon Chairs Youth FOR Section

William Hodsdon, a Senior in Brother's College at Drew University, is chairman of the new Youth Section of the FOR.

Already co-chairman of the Drew University FOR, Hodsdon is familiar with pacifist ideas and thought among college young people. He is an active youth leader, participating in such varied organizations as the People's Section of the United Nations, the Save the Children Federation, and Alpha Psi Omega, a national dramatics fraternity. He also writes for the college newspaper and does counseling for the New York City Mission Society Camp.

Senate Committee To Hear COs

A new type of investigation began last month for a United States Senate Subcommittee on Constitutional Rights. At issue is to what extent the American people feel that the Constitution—especially the Bill of Rights—has been correctly observed and interpreted by the government.

Conversation between the chief counsel for the committee and the Central Committee for Conscientious Objectors disclosed that the committee may give primary importance to testimony relating to conscientious objectors in its examination of "freedom of religion." A limited number of COs, including at least one who has faced multiple prosecutions, may be heard as witnesses.

First witness to testify that the First Amendment does protect the right of conscientious objection to war will probably be Harrop Freeman, Cornell University Professor of Law.

Subsequent testimony will touch violations to conscience caused by laws based on the assumption that objection to war is a privilege which may be granted, withheld, restricted, as Congress wishes.

Senator Thomas C. Hennings, Jr. (Missouri) chairs the subcommittee. The other members are Joseph C. Mahoney of Wyoming and William Langer of North Dakota.

Bids US Protect Swiss' Alien Rights

Worldover Press reports that Switzerland, a country noted for general feelings of "good will" towards the United States, is irked over the U.S. Draft Law. According to WP correspondent, M. Harrison, the bone of contention is the McCarran Act's interpretation of the 1850 Treaty of Friendship, Commerce and Extradition between the two governments.

Under the 1850 Treaty, all Swiss citizens residing in the United States are exempted under all conditions from American military service. The McCarran Act, on the other hand, rules that any Swiss citizen exempted from the U.S. draft under the 1850 law is automatically ineligible for American citizenship and will be denied a re-entry into the United States or a visa as an immigrant.

The Swiss complaint is that this law completely nullifies the original treaty. Negotiations now underway between the two governments indicate that the Swiss are standing firm under what they consider "their rights as aliens instead of their classification as immigrants," says *Worldover Press*.

Worldover Press Suspends Publication

Worldover Press, the unique international news service which has given uncensored coverage of world affairs since 1933, suspended publication last month. This action was voted by the Worldover Press Board, meeting to face the problems arising from the sudden death of its editor, Devere Allen. (See October FELLOWSHIP.)

Speaking for the Board, Samuel Guy Inman told editors and individual subscribers that they would, however, "seek new means to carrying on the work." He asked that all editors and subscribers send their suggestions toward this end to him at Bronxville Gardens, Bronxville, New York.

Inman added that at Devere Allen's death, Worldover Press had soared to new heights. An estimated twelve million readers followed Devere Allen's column, "This Is Your World."

Protestant Youth Score UMT

Representatives of the nation's 10 million Protestant young people went on record against universal military training in all forms and accused Congress of "enacting piece-meal a program which the American people have traditionally refused to accept."

In a business session that continued through midnight on September 1, the annual conference of the General Council of the United Christian Youth Movement scored the present UMT set-up and called on Congress to "meet Communism at the true battleground—the social, political, economic and ideological frontiers."

Meeting at Williams Bay, Wisconsin, the youth arm of the National Council of Churches further criticized Congress for the short notice and insufficient time given to UCY representatives who testified against UMT. The nation's lawmakers should guarantee all citizens and groups full and equal opportunity to testify, said the Assembly.

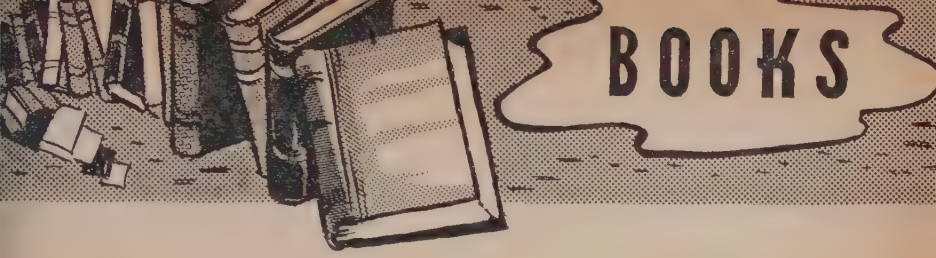
Graham Okays War for Christians

Christians may participate in war without violating the Sixth Commandment because they are not "personally responsible," according to evangelist Billy Graham.

The Sixth Commandment, Graham answered a questioner in his syndicated column, refers to "murder," but not to "the judicial taking of life for certain crimes." War is a "horrible experience," but "in most wars men are acting as the judicial agents of their governments and are responsible to their governments for their actions."

Church World Service of the National Council of Churches is again sponsoring a "Share Your Surplus" program this month.

The goal of this program, now in its second year, is to urge Americans to contribute to the sending of more than 141,744,425 pounds of U.S. surplus food and other materials to needy people overseas. An added impetus to the importance of the SYS drive this year is the increasing interest of Washington officials, including Secretary of Agriculture, Ezra Benson, in sending surplus food to Communist countries as well as friendly nations.



Defender of the Faith

Christian Realism and Political Problems, Reinhold Niebuhr. Charles Scribners Sons, 1953. 203 pages, $3.

Reinhold Niebuhr, in this collection of eleven essays on political, ethical and theological themes, reveals both his brilliance and his role as defender of the American power position in today's world. He does not seem to be so concerned about social change in respect to war, imperialism, capitalism as he is to provide a theological justification for America's role as a great military power, and for war itself.

He speaks of anti-war Senators like Norris and LaFollette as pacifist and refers to "the commercial classes" alternating between pacifism and an assertion of power. Such imprecision on the part of one who knows the meaning of pacifism can only be construed as an effort to avoid being labeled pro-war in his right and left denunciation of all anti-war attitudes.

His essay on "The Illusion of World Government" is an excellent corrective for those who assume "that constitutions can insure the mutual trust upon which community rests." He points out that "governments cannot create communities for the simple reason that the authority of government is not primarily the authority of law nor the authority of force, but the authority of the community itself."

In his discussion of European Socialism he makes clear how far he has retreated from an earlier Marxism. He decries those who think "that our 'capitalists' want to prepare for war to preserve our economy." He produces no evidence except that some bourgeois elements have a "fear of the cost of war and resulting taxation."

He adds: "This bourgeois pacifism and isolationism is incidentally a clear refutation of the Marxist thesis that capitalism is inevitably 'imperialistic' and 'militaristic.'" He conveniently forgets that what he terms "bourgeois pacifism" applied only to portions of the industrial middle west, and not to banking, investment and trading interests which were openly the backbone of the interventionist movement prior to World War II.

Roosevelt's terrible mistake in insisting on unconditional surrender is described by Niebuhr as political realism, because it was designed to guard against the accusation made against a political idealist, Woodrow Wilson, of "violating the promises implied in his 'fourteen points.'" Niebuhr forgets the Rooseveltian violation of the Four Freedoms and the Atlantic Charter, to say nothing of the way his "political realism" aided the

growth of Communist power in the world.

Niebuhr hopes for a wedding of the "spirit of liberalism" with "that part of the conservative creed as elaborated in Western and particularly in British history." But to cap it all, he identifies this conservatism as "the product of Christian rather than idealistic approaches to the perennial facts of human nature." He overlooks the idealism in Christianity to concentrate on Christianity's recognition of man's tendency to sin.

Niebuhr is always provocative, partly because of the way he analyzes a problem and partly because his own feelings and prejudices are so strong. His concept of Christian realism is the tempering of Christian love and doctrine to the particular political or social situation.

—JOHN SWOMLEY

The Richness of Truth

The World in Tune, by Elizabeth Gray Vining. Harper & Brothers, 1954. 124 pp., $1.75.

The Creative Encounter, by Howard Thurman. Harper & Brothers, 1954. 153 pp., $2.50.

Documents of Humanity, Compiled by K. O. Kurth, Foreword by Albert Schweitzer. Harper & Brothers, 1954. 184 pp., $2.50.

But Not Forsaken, by Helen Good Brenneman. Herald Press, Scottdale, Pa. 212 pp., $2.50.

In the Name of Sanity, by Lewis Mumford. Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1954. 244 pp., $3.75.

For FOR readers who admit an allergy to the general run of "little devotional books," Elizabeth Gray Vining offers one of rare charm and inspiration. Like a bee hovering over a garden of blossoms to select only those of sweetest honey, she has culled her mystics and poets widely to find passages that convey authentic religious emotion. To quotations used, she has added sensitive commentary and a number of her own "minor ecstasies."

The Psalmist, Blake, Donne, Hopkins, Herbert, Vaughan—the latter giving the book its title—these, of course, appear oftenest. But the moderns are here too. Surely there can be no finer designation of the faith that soars far out beyond knowledge or reason, than Santayana's "the soul's invincible surmise" in his Columbus sonnet, while for economy in words with richness of truth and beauty, there is James Stephens':

"Do not pray
But only say
O Thou!

And leave it so
For He will know
—Somehow—

That you fall
And that you call
On Him now."

By a different road but with true illumination, Howard Thurman guides us to the religious experience which is "the conscious and direct exposure to God." For the encounter to be "creative," man must enter God's presence with the very "smell of life" upon him, while on His side God will deal with man personally and privately. What results is less new knowledge of ultimate meanings than realization that what one has dimly apprehended, is completely true. Now "the soul moves toward God" with a "shift in centeredness" which affects man's whole being. Prayer is of course basic in the "readying" process.

Now will come those hitherto

unsuspected powers that may be directed to "impossible ends." It is here that one could have wished Dr. Thurman more specific and contemporary. For, though civic responsibility is urged, and the viewpoint obviously interracial, there is no reference to the perpetual shadow of war. Also in his otherwise perceptive chapter on love, human and divine, nothing explicit is said regarding what surely lies at the very core of Christian love—forgiveness and reconciliation.

Urge to Heal

Precisely this urge to heal wounds through reconciliation prompted the Goettingen Research Committee's appeal to fellow-expellees for instances of kindness at "enemy" hands when the Potsdam Agreement drove 15,000,000 persons of German descent back to war-ruined Germany from age-old homes in Eastern Europe. In hunger, in cold, possessions on their backs or piled on carts that sank in icy mud in the bitter winter of 1945, amid the fury of civilians and the lust of advancing Russian troops, the sick, the old, the women, the children—often the men were still in prison-camps—stumbled on in a long trek of misery.

Yet they did meet the outstretched hand of brotherliness. *"Oh, Madame, nous avons aussi un coeur!"* cried French ex-PW's, when thanked for food. Others stood off a Czech veteran abusing the widow of a German soldier. A Belgian PW delayed his homeward journey to fodder the horses and care for his 80-year-old former master. A Polish maidservant accompanied the children she cared for, into exile. A Russian soldier risked his life to hide young girls from would-be tormentors. These 130 little "documents of humanity," so eagerly submitted, attest the innate goodness of our humankind. In a time of egregious cruelty they stand out, tiny islands sprigged with green, in a vast gray sea of human agony.

Out of her experience with the Mennonite Refugee Committee Helen Good Brenneman carries forward in a tender little narrative this two-fold story of man's almost incredible inhumanity to man, and his equally arresting kindness. The Penners are descendants of that German religious group invited to the Ukraine by Catherine II, after persecution in Russia. Because of their national origin they felt safe when Hitler's armies invaded Russia, but again fell under the religious ban as the Soviet swept on to victory. Now they had to face all the terrors of the expellees, including painful separation.

Finally reunited after hairbreadth escapes from border police, and nursed back to health at the Gronau Camp in the British zone, the family prepared for resettlement in Paraguay. A shining religious faith supported Maria, the wife, through every peril, and Hans, the husband who had long denied God, found Him once more.

No pacifist could more wholesaledly repudiate the ethos of our times than the distinguished philosopher-critic, Lewis Mumford. In his book, "In the Name of Sanity" he warns that we are today "living under the sign of Caliban." "Hate, fear, suspicion, violence have become endemic," he writes. Given apparent rationality and made respectable by science, "Fantasies of wholesale exterminа-

tion" of our fellows are no longer a paranoiac's dream, but engage the solemn deliberations of statesmen.

"Caliban," he tells us—or those primitive forces of nature including man's own lower self which, divorced from love and lacking any "discerning intelligence that foresees and evaluates"—today breaks through earlier restraints to turn our world into a "modern barbarism." Our only hope, then, lies in restoring "Prospero" to rightful command, "Prospero" who represents "that religious insight that seeks to unite the limited purposes of man with cosmic forces that outlast his brief existence." For "love offers the only alternative that will lead us back to life."

—FRANCIS WITHERSPOON

In the Fall 1955

DISSENT

the distinguished pacifist leader

A. J. Muste

writes on

NEUTRALISM, COEXISTENCE AND THE THIRD CAMP

Other articles include: The Folklore of Populism by Richard Hofstadter; Psychiatry & Politics by Erich Fromm; The Post-McCarthy Atmosphere by Michael Harrington; Keynesian Economics by Ben B. Seligman.

Dissent is a non-party, anti-communist and anti-conformist socialist quarterly. $2.50 yearly subscription. 75c per issue. $4.00 two-year subscription.

DISSENT
509 Fifth Ave., New York, N. Y.

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ALFRED HASSLER, *Editor*

Sworn to and subscribed before me this 28th day of September, 1955.

(SEAL)

MARGARET NOSELLI

(My commission expires March 30, 1956)

LETTERS

An Answer

The Editors,
FELLOWSHIP:

Permit me to differ with critics James Decker and Edwin T. Eglehart regarding the lead editorial in the June FELLOWSHIP ("Drill") which I thought one of the best to appear in some time.

If we wish to talk forever to ourselves, perhaps satire is unnecessary, though I must admit I find it a refreshing change of pace occasionally. However, to reach non-non-violent resisters, it appears essential to use startling tactics.

Idealism is wonderful, and since all people possess a measure of it, one can gain a sympathetic ear for a while though only to encounter that final, inevitable "but—." Greater interest and a much less formidable "but" follow a hard-hitting approach which highlights the particular interest of the most important person in the world, "I."

Non-violent alternatives to the potential of universal destruction inherent in modern weapons are beginning to appear not only highly moral, but even quite rational to people who never could understand, let alone accept them before. And guess why!

Let us have more, not less, of such superb writing. According to my reading of the Good Book, the Lord Himself was pointedly blunt with hypocrites of whom there are a few around today. Prominent among them are that peculiar variety who insist that a complex economy of a modern industrial nation needs no planning or management even as they proceed to achieve it, after a fashion, by way of a prodigious military program established only for defense against aggression by a "slave-labor nation" which, in their own words, "could pose no threat to a free people!"

R. F. BURLINGAME
Milan, Michigan

A Question

The Editors,
FELLOWSHIP:

In recent months a number of things have happened that have measurably changed the world political atmosphere: among them the Austrian treaty, the Geneva conference, the conferring of scientists on the peaceful use of atomic energy, the exchange of long visits between Russian and American agriculturists. This change of atmosphere need not be exaggerated, yet surely it deserves a better welcome than it received in the so-called "World in Focus" department of the September FELLOWSHIP, under the humorous heading, "Lovey-Dovey." If one were to judge from this and similar commentaries that have appeared in this department, pacifists are less interested in peace—in real improvements in the world situation—than they are in keeping going their own running fight with "militarists" and people in authority; I know this is really not the case so far as the general contents of FELLOWSHIP are concerned, and may not even reflect the considered views of the writer. I trust some way can be found to bring "The World in Focus" into focus!

FERNER NUHN
Claremont, California

On Professor Ude

The Editors,
FELLOWSHIP:

There is a very good notice in the September FELLOWSHIP on Professor Dr. Ude and his letter to Adenauer.

Dr. Ude writes and speaks German —but he *is not* German—he is an Austrian. German is the language of that country. And he did not appeal to the Pope, but to the Holy Office, or the Magisterium.

ANNA HAMILTON
Marshall, Missouri

Correction

The Editors,
FELLOWSHIP:

The October FELLOWSHIP is wrong about the Davidson case. The Supreme Court did not set aside his conviction. The Court referred the case back to the 9th Circuit for consideration of whether Davidson fit the statutory provision for conscientious objection. The Court pointed out that if he did fit the provision, then his conviction would be set aside because he had not been given the opportunity to refute the adverse recommendations of the Department of Justice. The 9th Circuit has since that time decided that Davidson did not come under the provision of the law, so he still stands convicted.

LYLE TATUM
Philadelphia, Penna.

(FELLOWSHIP printed the verbatim report on the Davidson case issued by *Religious News Service*. A correction and notice on this error has been sent on to them, Ed.)

Too Expensive

The Editors
FELLOWSHIP

A bill I introduced was successfully passed through the House in this past session. The bill (H.R. 692) would authorize the Postmaster General to institute a cancellation die-marker in all first- and second-class post offices bearing the words: *Pray for Peace.*

When brought before the Senate it was opposed by the Post Office Department on the grounds that the project was too expensive (approximately $210,000 for some 10,000 post offices). It was further said that the value of this provocative exhortation to prayer was for the most part questionable.

This is the second time that this bill has bogged down in the Senate Committee. I am sure you appreciate the spiritual and moral value of this exhortation to our people and to the rest of the world as well.

LOUIS C. RABAUT, M.C. (Dem.-Mich.)
House of Representatives

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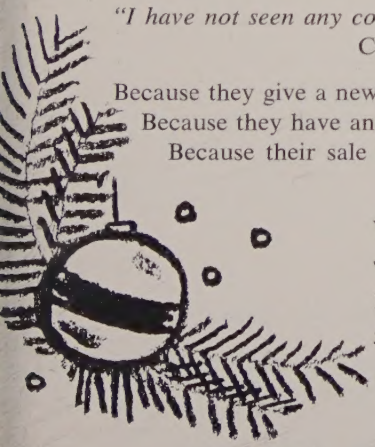

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